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ABSTRACT

Representing part of the first phase of a 5-year ethnographic research project, this report investigates the ways in which Puerto Rican families influence their children's school achievement. The report examines the history of Puerto Rico and the migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States. Puerto Rican community organizations, both local and national, and conditions faced by Puerto Ricans in the United States, and particularly in New York City, are described. A review of research provides a detailed examination of Puerto Rican school achievement, noting that Puerto Rican achievement in the United States has generally been considered poor when measured by standardized tests. Research on Puerto Rican cultural values, family patterns and role socialization, and acculturation is also discussed, and the ways in which these areas relate to school achievement are considered. The report concludes that the Puerto Rican sense of identity must be maintained by parents and educators. It is recommended that educators and parents work together to challenge schools to address the needs of Puerto Rican students. A list of 140 references is included. (MM)

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CENTER ON FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES, SCHOOLS & CHILDREN'S LEARNING

"i saw puerto rico once"

A Review of the Literature on Puerto Rican Families And School Achievement in the United States

Nitza M. Hidalgo

Report No. 12 / October 1992

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A Review of the Literature on Puerto Rican Families

And School Achievement in the United States

Nitza M. Hidalgo

Wheelock College

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The nation's schools must do more to improve the education of all children, but schools cannot do this alone. More will be accomplished if families and co nmunities work with children, with each other, and with schools to promote successful students.

The mission of this Center is to conduct research, evaluations, policy analyses, and dissemination to produce new and useful knowledge about how families, schools, and communities influence student motivation, learning, and development. A second important goal is to improve the connections between and among these major social institutions.

Two research programs guide the Center's work: the Program on the Early Years of Childhood, covering children aged 0-10 through the elementary grades; and the Program on the Years of Early and Late Adolescence, covering youngsters aged 11-19 through the middle and high school grades.

Research on family, school, and community connections must be conducted to understand more about all children and all families, not just those who are economically and educationally advantaged or already connected to school and community resources. The Center's projects pay particular attention to the diversity of family cultures and backgrounds and to the diversity in family, school, and community practices that support families in helping children succeed across the years of childhood and adolescence. Projects also examine policies at the federal, state, and local levels that produce effective partnerships.

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I dedicate this work to the memory of my father

Mr. Bolivar Hidalgo
June 22, 1925 - July 26, 1991

He arrived as a young man in New York in 1946 accompanied by his mother, father and siblings.

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Abstract

Puerto Rican children make up an increasing proportion of the school population in the United States, especially in urban areas, but their educational progress has been blocked by economic and structural obstacles. This paper examines the question of how Puerto Rican families influence their children's school achievement, which is tied to the historical experiences faced by Puerto Ricans in this country. The study of Puerto Rican families in the United States is placed within the context of migration to and from the Island, the level of acculturation that has occurred within each family, and the colonial heritage families share. The paper concludes that the educational achievement of Puerto Rican children requires schooling that grounds Puerto Rican students in the rich traditions of their culture, carried out through home and school partnerships which recognize Puerto Rican families as a strong support system, which support Puerto Rican families in culturally sensitive ways, which promote parents' learning about the requirements of school, and which also promote the training of teachers to understand the socialization and strengths of Puerto Rican families.

Acknowledgments

This work would not have been possible without the care and assistance of my colleague and research assistant, Ms. Aida Ramos. She spent many days searching for literature, reading drafts and helping me clarify the issues. I am most grateful to her.

I am most grateful to my colleagues at the Center on Families, Communities, Schools and Children's Learning for taking the time to read and comment on this work.

I wish to thank Ms. Terry Heide for her thoughtful editorial work.

"i saw puerto rico once"

A Review of the Literature on Puerto Rican Families and School Achievement in the United States[1]

Introduction

The experiences of Puerto Rican families in the United States have been widely described in literature on a broad range of topics including history, migration, employment, acculturation, and school achievement (Herrera, 1979). One can derive exhaustive statistical portraits comparing Puertorriqueños[2] to other groups in U.S. society, none of which accurately portray the struggle for survival in an often hostile social environment. Puerto Rican children make up an increasing proportion of the school population in the United States, especially in urban areas. Yet their educational progress has been blocked by economic and structural obstacles. The question of how Puerto Rican families influence their children's school achievement is tied to the historical experiences faced by Puerto Ricans in this country. In order to understand the experience of Puerto Rican families in the United States and its influence on the school achievement of its youth, this paper reviews the Island background, migration to the United States, conditions faced here, family values, and acculturation.

This paper represents part of the first phase of a five-year research project on families' influences on school achievement. Our ethnographic study will investigate how African-American, Chinese-American, Irish-American and Puerto Rican families support their children's school success during the primary grades.

The study of Puerto Rican families in the United States must be placed within the context of migration to and from the Island, the level of acculturation that has occurred within each family, and the colonial heritage families share. My thesis is that one cannot understand Puerto Rican school achievement without examining the historical experience of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. and on the Island, and how that experience has impacted Puerto Rican identity.

History

Puerto Rico is the easternmost island of the Greater Antilles in the Caribbean Sea. Its land mass of 3,423 square miles consists of 40 percent mountains, 35 percent hills, and 25 percent plains. Puerto Rico was colonized by the Spaniards after Columbus landed in 1493 in Borinquén, as it was called by its indigenous people, during his second voyage to the western continents (López & Petras, 1974).

The indigenous Taino[3] society had developed a social structure of *yucayeque* (autonomous villages) with *caciques* (chiefs and military leaders), *bohiqués* (priests and medicine healers), *nitaynos* (aristocracy and military elite) and *naborías* (laborers, workers, and hunters) (López & Petras, 1974). Taino society was communal in nature. The ceremonial ritual, *areyto*, held for all types of occasions, was a means of cultural transmission and education.

The Taino population at the time of colonization was estimated at 15,000 to 30,000, but some believe there may have been as many as 70,000 Tainos. Their decline and eventual extinction is linked to five major causes: intermarriage with Spaniards[4], migration to the Lesser Antilles after their defeat by the Spaniards, epidemics brought by the Spanish soldiers and African slaves, slavery and the cruelties associated with slavery, and rebellious outbreaks against the Spaniards (Lopez, 1980).

The Spaniards ruled Puerto Rico for four centuries. Their colonial administration was characterized by centralization and the fusion of church and state. The centralized power structure meant all decisions were made in Spain with little knowledge of what was occurring in the colonies. There was little room for policy making at the local level. Christianity at the time had tremendous political influence; for example, one justification for coming to the new world was to convert the Tainos to Christianity. The religious argument was used to justify economic exploitation of the colonies. During Spanish rule the economy was based on the agricultural system of the *hacienda* (plantation), a semi-feudal organization with large land owners and dependent peasant workers (Quintero-Alfaro, 1987).

By the mid-1500's, the dwindling number of Tainos resulted in the introduction in Puerto Rico of African people enslaved by the Spaniards (Cordasco & Bucchioni, 1973; Mapp, 1974). Slavery was abolished in Puerto Rico in 1873 (López & Petras, 1974). Thus, the racial roots of Puerto Rican people are a mixture of Taino, Spanish, and African blood. Later immigrations of Corsican, Venezuelan, Cuban, and Dominican people have added to the racial and cultural roots of Puerto Ricans.

Throughout the four hundred years of Spanish rule, a strong Puerto Rican culture developed. Elements of this culture, which will be defined further, include: "male dominance, division of labor and family roles, sex roles, a virginity cult, racial tolerance, and such concepts as respect and dignity" (Salgado, 1985).

El Grito de Lares,[5] an unsuccessful revolt by Puerto Rican people of all classes against Spain in 1868, symbolized the birth of Puerto Rican nationalism. The predominant movement against Spain, however, was reformist in nature. Puerto Ricans opted for reform rather than revolution as in other Latin American countries, because they were not strong enough to fight Spain. The Puerto Rican elite needed Spain's credit and land rights; they were also afraid of joining forces with the peasant masses because they feared losing control over them. The elite wanted to share power with Spain. If they could not, they had the most to lose. The Autonomous Charter of 1897 was a reform measure and an attempt on Spain's part to retain her colonies in Cuba and Puerto Rico. The Autonomous Charter allowed more political power at the local level, gave Puerto Rico tariff autonomy and, most importantly, granted Puerto Ricans decision-making power on economic issues such as commercial treaties.

The new powers were short-lived. In 1898, the United States took possession of Puerto Rico as a war prize under the Treaty of Paris after the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War. U.S. troops entered Puerto Rico at Guánica that same year. The U.S. government established military rule under the powers granted by the Foraker Act of 1900. That law prescribed U.S. authority over Puerto Rican trade, commerce, and the monetary system and judicial systems (Silén, 1971). In 1917, Congress passed the Jones Act, giving the inhabitants of Puerto Rico U.S. citizenship. Of the action, Hilda Hidalgo states: "The United States Congress, unilaterally without consulting the Puerto Rican people, made Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens just in time to be able to conscript them into the army in World War I" (1975:38).

In 1950, Public Law 600 was enacted, establishing the current status of Puerto Rico, that of a free associated state (Silén, 1971). The title of free associated state, or commonwealth, obscures the political status of the Island (Betances, 1971). It is not free to define its future; it is not a state with full privileges; it is an associate, a junior partner in its own affairs. Puerto Rico is allotted U.S. Congressional representation in the form of a resident commissioner who has no voting power. Puerto Ricans cannot vote in presidential elections. Local government is composed of a bicameral legislature and an elected governor (Silén, 1971). U.S. Federal government agencies implement Federal laws and Federal assistance programs in Puerto Rico.

Since 1970, the Puerto Rican economy has been sluggish and dependency on Federal aid programs has grown. Federal aid programs, which have become widespread on the Island to help the high number of unemployed people, also keep wages low and create dependency on U.S. funds. "These forms of aid maintain an economy without a real basis" (Quintero-Alfaro, 1987:202). Julián Rivera compares Puerto Ricans to Native Americans as people whose land has been taken away from them, rendering them a "trapped minority without power or final control over their existence" (1974:87).

Since the United States began administering the Island, it has been the dominant influence in Puerto Rico. The hegemonic relationship is evident in the political subordination and control of Puerto Rico's future, the subordination of Puerto Rico's economic interests to those of the U.S., the creation of a captive market for U.S. products, and use of Puerto Rico as a source of raw material and cheap labor for U.S. business ventures (Maldonado-Denis, 1976; History Task Force, 1979; Fitzpatrick, 1971).

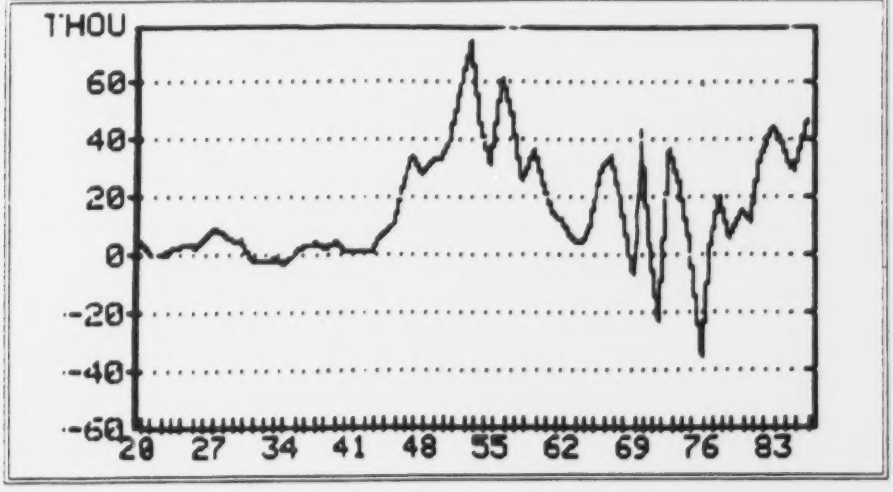
Migration

The story of Puerto Ricans cannot be understood without an awareness of the causes and conditions of their migration to the United States. Puerto Rican migration cannot be understood without examining the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico. Manuel Maldonado-Denis (1975) explains the socio-historical causes for mass migration from Puerto Rico: from the government's perspective,

migration was a "remedy" to reduce the high unemployment rates and control overpopulation of the Island. Migration was seen as an "escape valve" (Nieves-Falcón, 1975:33-34). Many agree that by 1923, stimulation and facilitation of migration was an official policy of the Puerto Rican government (Nieves-Falcón, 1975; Maldonado-Denis, 1975; Rodríguez, 1989; Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988).

While a great number of Puerto Ricans moved to the U.S. after the Second World War, Puerto Ricans have lived in the territorial U.S. since the turn of the century. Between 1900 and 1920, average Puerto Rican migration to the U.S. was approximately 4,000 people per year (Nieves-Falcón, 1975). Mass migration began in the 1940's. From 1940 to 1950, over 180,000 people migrated to the United States; from 1950 to 1960, over 370,000 more Puerto Ricans migrated (López, 1980; Maldonado-Denis, 1980; Rivera-Medina, 1984). (See Table 1.)

Table 1
Migration Patterns 1920-1986



Taken from Rodríguez, C. (1989), *Puerto Ricans Born in the United States*, Boston: Unwind Hyman, page 3.

The earliest Puerto Ricans to live and work in the U.S. were mostly *tabaqueros* (cigar makers), factory and agricultural workers and merchant seamen, who began arriving in the late 1800's. This population consisted mostly of single men (Bonilla, 1981).

Luis Nieves-Falcón, who has written extensively on Puerto Rican migration, describes three major campaigns in 1903, 1919, and 1923 to recruit migrant workers to work in places like Hawaii, California, and Mexico. U.S. sugar company agents recruited people from the entire Island. Travel conditions for migrants resembled those on the slave trader ships. On the first expedition in 1903, many people became ill, rebelled, or died; many bound for Hawaii, for instance, left ship in California to escape the inhumane conditions to which they were subjected. Nevertheless, the two subsequent expeditions recruited many Puerto Rican families with the promise of steady year-round employment and high wages (Nieves-Falcón, 1975).

U.S. entrepreneurs enticed Puerto Ricans to North America in increasing numbers, especially after the Immigration Act of 1924 restricted immigration from Europe, cutting off the supply of labor to agriculture and the garment and service industries (Howard, 1983). Businesses saw Puerto Rico as a source of cheap labor. The Federal government facilitated the movement of Puerto Ricans from the Island to the U.S., and within the U.S. by sponsoring seasonal farm-work contracts. During the peak migration years, an annual average of 13,000 agricultural workers migrated north in the spring, returning to Puerto Rico in the fall (Bonilla, 1981).

According to Clara Rodríguez, in the 1940's the Puerto Rican government sponsored various economic reforms to stimulate economic growth. It invested funds in "glass, pulp and paper, shoe leather and clay product corporations as well as a hotel and a textile mill" (1989:11). Rodríguez (1989) states that the programs failed because of technical problems, political interference, and conflicting private interests.

During the 1950's, the governments of the United States and Puerto Rico undertook a massive industrialization process on the Island called Operation Bootstrap. Private companies were given tax exemptions and incentives to relocate to the Island. The capital injection improved conditions on the Island in the areas of "education, housing and the quality of the drinking water, electrification and sewage systems, and roads and transportation facilities" (Rodríguez, 1989). The changes lead to significant increases in average income, higher life expectancy rates,

higher literacy rates, and other improvements in educational, health and work related services.

While ownership of capital remained with the U.S. businesses, management was left to the Puerto Rican elite. The middle class grew within the "commerce, professional, and public service related occupations" (Quintero-Alfaro, 1987:202). Rafael Ramírez (1976) believes the change in the economy from sugar and coffee production to an industrial system created a new class of Puerto Ricans -- the managers serving as intermediaries between U.S. capitalists and the rest of the Puerto Rican population. According to Ramírez (1976), these intermediaries have promoted, and imposed on the Puerto Rican population, U.S. cultural values and ideology via their control over the educational system, political parties, bureaucracy, and mass media. U.S. economic control therefore resulted in structural and ideological changes on the Island.

During Operation Bootstrap "urban industry was emphasized and agriculture neglected..., and the rural population was pressured to migrate to the industrialized areas" leading to increased urbanization (Feagin, 1989:28). Angel Quintero-Alfaro writes:

> The basic principle on which the program of development was based was that new industries would continue to absorb the existing excess of manual labor. But the effects were different..., the lack of coordination between the industrial program and the agricultural development increased unemployment instead of reducing it (1987:202).

While capital investment increased from $1.4 billion in the 1960's to $24 billion in the late 1970's, the unemployment rate also increased from 13 percent to 19 percent (Feagin, 1989). During the industrialization period, peasant-owned rural lands were bought up by sugar companies, and the process of replacing coffee with sugar as the Island's crop, begun under Spanish rule, was intensified. The people of Vieques and Culebra Islands were displaced when the U.S. military expropriated their islands for use as military practice sites (Nieves-Falcón, 1975). Many displaced and unemployed workers were driven to the cities in search of labor opportunities. In the 1940's, 70% of the Island population lived in rural areas; by 1980 this figure had plummeted to 30% (National Puerto Rican Coalition, Inc., 1985).

In summary, the industrialization of the Island brought improvements in transportation, education, and housing, and stimulated economic prosperity for the Puerto Rican elite and owners of U.S. companies. It also caused the displacement of rural people to urban areas without generating sufficient jobs to employ them, thereby creating a surplus labor pool.

The factors related to increased migration after World War II included: 1) a rapid industrialization process leading to the displacement of rural workers, 2) conditions of high population density and high unemployment rates, 3) the demand from corporate interests for cheap labor in the United States, and 4) a propaganda campaign promising steady work in the United States (Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988). For the migrants, movement was facilitated by 1) the free-flowing communication between the United States and the Island, 2) lowered air fares that encouraged travel, 3) lack of immigration restrictions to limit entry, and 4) the attractive promise of higher wages (Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988). Many Puerto Rican soldiers who served in the war after undergoing basic training in the United States returned to the U.S. with their families after the war. Many also came to join family members who had come before them.

Thus, the largest migration in Puerto Rico's history was caused by: a loss of ownership of the Puerto Rican economy (70% of Puerto Rican industry is owned by U.S. corporations), thereby making Puerto Rico dependent on outside capital; and by the rapid transformation of the Puerto Rican economy from an agricultural to an industrial base (Maldonado-Denis, 1973). Concurrently, an active campaign was mounted to relocate part of the population in hopes of improving economic conditions on the Island. The campaign was spurred by the desire to satisfy corporate labor needs in the United States. The displacement of rural populations by incoming capital interests exacerbated the already high unemployment in central cities.

In Nueva York[6]

"All the problems faced by Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States are found -- and magnified -- in the American metropolis: the question of identity, the problem of language, and the achievement of political power commensurate with numerical strength" (Maldonado-Denis, 1975).

The people who migrated after World War II were different than the earlier cigar makers and factory and agricultural workers. After World War II, most people migrated with their families; they were young, skilled and literate in Spanish, with an average of eight years of schooling. Seventy percent of those who migrated after World War II were between the ages of 15 and 39 years old (Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988).

The migrants of the 1950's moved into the working-class communities in New York which had been created by immigrants of previous decades. They took semi-skilled and unskilled work, jobs with increased earnings but lower status (Bonilla, 1981). "[M]igration meant occupational downward mobility despite an increase in earnings" (Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988:176). The jobs available were in low-level factory manufacturing work and service occupations; "eighty-five percent [of Puerto Ricans] were in blue collar or service occupations" (Bonilla, 1981).

The first large wave of migrants in the 1940's and 1950's found opportunities for work. "In the initial years of the postwar migration, Puerto Ricans in New York -- who at the time comprised the vast majority of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. -- were actually more likely to be incorporated into the labor force than the average New Yorker" (Torres, 1988). The manufacturing industry was growing in New York and needed factory workers. There had been a shortage of cheap labor as a result of the 1924 Immigration Act which restricted immigration from Europe, the previous source of labor in the service, agricultural, and industrial sectors.

But the decline in the New York garment industry in the 1960's and 1970's limited later employment opportunities. Many low-skilled jobs were lost in the industrial and occupational sectors (Torres, 1988). The manufacturing sector lost 173,000 jobs in the 1960's. At that time over 60% of the Puerto Rican workforce was employed in manufacturing (Rodríguez, 1989).

Dwindling economic opportunities initiated the phenomenon of reverse migration in the late 1960's and the 1970's. Other reasons contributed to the return flow: the deplorable urban living conditions, the increasing crime rate, the fear of drug addiction in children, and the poor quality of education Puerto Rican children received (Lopez, 1980).

Although there have always been groups returning to the Island -- keeping a steady supply of newly arrived migrants in the U.S. -- since the late 1960's Puerto Rican migration has been characterized by a *va y ven* phenomenon[7] (Rodríguez, Sánchez-Korrol & Oscar-Alers, 1984). Researchers at El Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños[8] (1979), at Hunter College in New York, have labeled it "The Revolving Door Migration." (See Table 1 above.) "About sixty percent of Puerto Ricans in the United States are still Island born, and with migration from the island newly picking up, that proportion is probably being replenished and is perhaps keeping pace with national increases within the United State, community" (Bonilla, 1990).

Thus, one can say there are three distinct categories of Puerto Ricans in the United States: 1) recently arrived migrants in search of employment, 2) migrant workers moving back and forth as work demands, and 3) U.S. born second, third, and fourth generation Puerto Ricans (Santiestevan & Santiestevan, 1984). The constant influx of the migrant pool contributes to a different process of acculturation in the distinct categories that cannot be cleanly traced since families move back and forth often.

The sociological characteristics of Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. reveal a psychological closeness with the Island. Connections to Puerto Rico are reestablished by yearly visits to relatives and extended families living in Puerto Rico, by living in ethnic neighborhoods where the culture is continuously remade and reinforced, by use of the Spanish language and the Spanish language media that keep U.S. residents informed of news from Puerto Rico, and by a strong primary cultural identification as Puerto Ricans. Furthermore, while the goal of many other immigrants is to achieve American citizenship, Puerto Rican migrants enter as U.S. citizens (Hidalgo, 1975). A unique characteristic of Puerto Rican migrants is the tenacity of their insistence on some day returning to Puerto Rico (Nieves-Falcón, 1975). This characteristic is more prevalent among first generation migrants.

Regardless of the extended U.S. influence in Puerto Rico, when entering the United States the Puerto Rican migrant runs head on into North American culture. The Puerto Rican migrant arriving in the United States faces adjustment to a new language, unfamiliar personality traits and world views, the impersonal behavior of a highly bureaucratized society, a faster-paced lifestyle, and constant and sustained interactions with people from different ethnic groups (Salgado, 1985). The

relationship of dependence between the powerful United States and the Island influences the conditions faced by Puerto Ricans when they enter the U.S.

The colonial heritage that Island Puerto Ricans experience reflects the inferior status granted continental Puerto Ricans. Arriving from a country with uncertain status and little power over its future may create an ambiguity among Puerto Ricans and a false sense of superiority among U.S. people. Based on racial and linguistic differences and their economically lower position in this society, Puerto Ricans have been marginalized within U.S. society (Jennings & Rivera, 1984).

Although English is taught in schools on the Island, Puerto Rican society has maintained the Spanish language. The language differences create difficulties for migrants in the United States, especially considering the status of the Spanish language in this country and the conservative movement to declare English the official language of the U.S. Yet the Spanish language is at the heart of Puerto Rican identity. Ramona Salgado believes "language becomes the fulcrum for [their] cultural survival, as language and culture are intimately imbedded and these are crucial aspects in the development of an identity" (1985:41).

Puerto Ricans in the United States face the racial discrimination prevalent in this society. Having a range of racial types within their ethnic group, Puerto Ricans are not all white nor all black; there are many skin tones and physical features between the black/white polarities. Within the same family one may find relatives with dark skin and dark hair and relatives with light skin and blond hair. The rigid racial categorizations that exist in the U.S. are less prevalent (although still existent, see Betances, 1971 & 1972) in Puerto Rico. The prevailing categorization in Puerto Rico is based on class; racial comments contain implicit class connotations.[9]

John Howard (1983) states that the earliest Puerto Rican migrants did not experience the discrimination faced by later migrants. Once there was a critical mass of Puerto Ricans in the city, the attitudes of New Yorkers (where the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans lived) changed to discrimination and stereotypic beliefs. The migration of Puerto Ricans to New York displaced other groups from their neighborhoods. For example, in El Barrio (Spanish Harlem), the influx of Puerto Ricans pushed out the Italians and the remaining Jewish populations, and also pushed at the boundaries of predominantly Black Harlem.

In 1980, 76.8 percent of all Puerto Ricans lived in five states: New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Florida, and California (National Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics, 1984). More specifically, Puerto Ricans are the most urban of all the Latino groups in the United States: 75 percent of all Puerto Ricans live in urban centers (Santiestevan & Santiestevan, 1984).[10]

Rodríguez, Sánchez-Korrol, & Oscar-Alers (1984) point out the differences between the impersonal behavior and the distance in interpersonal relationships that are part of living in U.S. urban areas, and the social closeness and primacy of personal relationships found in Puerto Rico. Survival in cities requires being reserved and keeping an impersonal attitude towards others, including co-workers. In work settings, the U.S. dependency on the efficacy of impersonal systems makes for a difficult adjustment to new impersonal norms. (See section on family values.) In addition, the subordinate job positions taken by Puerto Ricans are depersonalizing, denying them the opportunity to build close interpersonal relationships at work (Alers-Montalvo, 1985). This contrasts with the Puerto Rican value of personalism.

Table 2 illustrates the marginalization of Puerto Ricans in the United States. It shows the median income of Puerto Rican families to be just over half the median income for the total U.S. population. Rodríguez (1989) states that in general, Latino families need two incomes to earn the same amount that White families earn with one income. The median household income in 1990 for Puerto Ricans was $16,169, while the non-Latino median income was $29,943 (Datanote, Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, No. 9/10, March 1992).

Puerto Rican marginalization is also expressed in educational achievement disparities shown in Table 2. About half (58%) the Puerto Rican population has completed four years of high school, and less than ten percent has completed four years of college. The school achievement section below explores possible reasons for these achievement differences.

In response to their marginalization in U.S. society, Puerto Ricans have organized into community, city-wide, and national groups. These organizations have advocated for better schools, more effective instruction, stronger political voice, legal rights, adequate and safe housing, and better work opportunities. Understanding each of these issues is crucial to understanding Puerto Rican families.

Table 2
Profile of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. 1991

Total Puerto Rican Population: 2,382,000
Percent of Total Latino Population: 11%

		Puerto Rican	Total U.S.
Median Age		26.7 yrs.	33.0 yrs.
Educational Attainment:	4 yrs H.S.	58.0%	78.4%
	4 yrs Coll.	10.1%	21.4%
Unemployment Rate:	males	11.9%	8.1%
	females	8.3%	6.1%
Poverty Rate (1991):			
children as % of poor:		56.7%	20.6%
Puerto Rican families:		37.5%	10.7%
Percent of Female Head (1988):		39.6%	16.1%
% in poverty:		58.3%	31.7%
Median Family Income (1991):		$16,169	$29,943

Compiled from *Datanote on the Puerto Rican Community*, No. 8, July 1990, & No. 9/10, March 1992, Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, New York, New York. Data are based on March 1991 Supplement to the *Current Population Survey*, (CPS), U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Community Organizations

> By the early 1920's Puerto Ricans were visibly striving to shape their new social, economic and political environment. We established cultural institutions, social clubs, political organizations and worker associations. These soon became tools in our struggle against the well recorded acts of racist violence and discrimination we experienced in work places, schools, and neighborhoods. Our struggle took the form of both organized and spontaneous concerted action. We demonstrated in the streets, petitioned local, state and federal government with our grievances, and sought political change through the ballot box. Hence with Puerto Rican settlements in the United States came the seeds of our contemporary struggle for dignity and social justice (Gonzalez et. al., 1989:1).

As early as 1923 the Puerto Rican community in New York[11] had created *Hermandad Puertorriqueña* (The Puerto Rican Brotherhood of America), an organization geared toward mutual assistance within the community, political awareness of both Island and U.S. issues, and community reliance in problem definition and solving (Bonilla, 1981). In the 1930's, the Puerto Rican Merchants' Association was formed to provide an "economic network" for many small businesses; there were 500 small businesses, mostly *bodegas* (grocery stores) in New York at that time (Fitzpatrick, 1987; Bonilla, 1981).

Many small political and neighborhood organizations within the Puerto Rican community have taken the form of grassroots, hometown, and social clubs. Although they were closely tied to the political concerns on the Island, these "bottom up" organizational efforts have become sources of power from which individuals integrate government and elected positions in the U.S. In 1965, there were 421 hometown and social organizations documented by the New York City Anti-Poverty Board (Bonilla, 1981).

While earlier organizations advanced community and political goals, in the 1950's another form of organization focusing on affirming Puerto Rican identity emerged. The underlying premise of these organizations was to influence and train Puerto Ricans for future professional and leadership positions. Their main concern was educational achievement. "Advancement in education is a major goal of most

Puerto Rican organizations" (Torres, 1989). These organizations grew out of the active struggle of the Puerto Rican community against injustice. People fought to gain access to the major institutions in the U.S.: educational, economic, and legal.

The Puerto Rican Forum has been influential through its organizational activities (funding local community education and training programs) and its representation of the Puerto Rican community in city and state politics.

Aspira has been devoted primarily to Puerto Rican educational achievement at the secondary and post-secondary levels. "Aspira has represented an orientation toward education, professional training and competence as a means of advancement in the U.S. society" (Fitzpatrick, 1987:53). Aspira programs operate in schools across the nation.

The Puerto Rican Community Development Project (PRCDP) has promoted direct community action and training. With funds provided by the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1965, PRCDP "became involved in job training programs, tutoring programs, neighborhood youth corps, addiction prevention and a block program of community organization" (Fitzpatrick, 1987:55).

The Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund was founded in 1972 to provide legal advocacy for the Puerto Rican community (Fitzpatrick, 1987:58) and represented Aspira in the 1970's in its lawsuit against the New York City Board of Education. The suit resulted in a consent decree on bilingual education services for limited English proficient children. The Fund also sponsors a program that prepares Puerto Rican students for law school admission exams, and continues to support students during their law studies (Fitzpatrick, 1987:58).

On a smaller scale one finds programs like El Barrio Popular Education Program that promotes adult literacy through the exploration of the histories and experiences of its students (Torruellas, Benmayor, Goris & Juarbe, 1991; Benmayor, Juarbe, Alvarez & Vázquez, 1987; Oral History Task Force, 1984). The El Barrio Program aims to move its students from individual empowerment to community or collective empowerment; each individual in the El Barrio Program feels a "commitment to the [well-being of the] collectivity" (Torruellas, Benmayor, Goris & Juarbe, 1991:60). Giving back and helping the community are values intrinsic in the Puerto Rican culture. In every Puerto Rican community across the United States one

can find small programs, grassroots organizations and political groups working to improve the education opportunities, housing, and economic conditions of its people.

Massachusetts Community Organizations

La Alianza Hispana, Inc. is a 21-year-old community-based organization located in Boston that provides social, educational, and health services to the Latino community. La Alianza's goal is to offer a range of services and resources to the community to enable them to gain self-reliance and achieve higher levels of economic, social and political participation in society.

The Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, Inc. (HOPE) is a 22-year-old community organization providing advocacy and community planning. HOPE focuses on changing the social, economic, and political status of Latinos, specifically through education and training, health and human services, employment and economic development, and housing and community development.

The Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy responds to the need for better understanding of the experience and living conditions of Latinos in Massachusetts. Its purpose is to conduct research about the Latino population in order to provide information and analysis necessary for the development of public policy. Its goal is to bring about the effective participation of the Latino population in public policy development in Massachusetts. Its research agenda focuses on educational and economic policy.

Puerto Rican School Achievement

Puerto Rican school achievement in the United States has generally been considered poor when measured by standardized tests. As Table 2 (page 17) details, only 58 percent of Puerto Ricans have completed four years of high school, compared to over 78 percent of the total U.S. population. Puerto Ricans have a higher school dropout rate than other groups. In New York City, "where most children classified are Puerto Ricans, fewer than half of the children in predominantly Hispanic school districts in 1983 were reading at or above grade level, and just 54 percent were performing at or above grade level in mathematics" (Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990:35). While these statistics describe the outcomes of

schooling for Puerto Rican students, little is revealed about the conditions that create these outcomes because of how the problem is defined.

Larry Cuban (1989) suggests that how school problems are framed dictates which solutions seem plausible, and to whom or what problems are attributed. Explanations for lack of school achievement have traditionally centered on finding deficiencies in the student populations served by schools.

School achievement of Puerto Rican students has most often been explained using the "cultural deficit" model. Cultural deficiency is purported to result from low income or culturally diverse home environments which lack appropriate linguistic, cognitive, and social stimulation. Theorists from the fields of education, psychology, and sociology used the cultural deficit explanation to account for scholastic differences in the 1960's.

One of the proponents of the cultural deficit explanation was Oscar Lewis, in a book entitled *La Vida* (1966). Lewis found the following patterns existing in the U.S. and Island Puerto Rican communities he studied: low community participation in dominant institutions, low level of organization within the community, high proportion of households headed by females, and provincial value orientations (little sense of history).

Lewis presented an ahistorical version of Puerto Rican adaptation and response to living in an individualistic and competitive society. He neglected to investigate the structural and institutional marginalization experienced by Puerto Ricans as a newcomer group. Although the findings were harshly criticized by scholars (Baratz & Baratz, 1970; Sanchez-Korrol, 1983), they have nonetheless exerted a tremendous influence on educational practice and social science research ever since.[12]

U.S. society tends not to look at the structural causes of failure, but instead regards failing individuals and their families as socially deviant. The focus on individual and family traits tends to blame Puerto Ricans for their own problems. When the problem is interpreted as originating with students and their families, the school can justify maintenance of the status quo, for example, by adding a remediation program for students or creating a parenting skills class for community members.

Critics of the cultural deficit paradigm argue that the model really implies that Puerto Rican children were not being socialized to adopt White, middle-class cultural values and behaviors. Since Western European Anglo culture was the standard, differences were judged to be deficient. The cultural socialization of Puerto Ricans was perceived as foreign and inferior. Their use of Spanish was perceived as a handicap. The values and cultural behaviors of Puerto Rican children were labeled as deficient by teachers and researchers, who referred to the cultural deficit model for validation of their beliefs. If the problem is seen to exist within the student and outside school, then what schools and teachers are doing need not change (Erickson, 1987).

Similarly, bilingual education was formulated to change the traditional practice of English language immersion of non-English speaking students, but the approach was interpreted from a deficiency perspective. Bilingual education programs instruct students in their native language in the content areas while concurrently providing instruction in English as a second language. While many forms of bilingual programs exist, the most common is transitional bilingual education, where the emphasis is to teach English in order to move students out of bilingual programs and into all English classrooms (Nevárez-Torres, 1991). Thus, the increase in number of non-English speaking students was defined as a problem which transitional bilingual education would solve.

Inherent in the previous formulations was the equation of the bilingual approach with remedial education, which is temporarily applied until students become proficient in English. Inherent in the formulation of transitional bilingual education is the deficit model, where foreign language proficiency is viewed as a handicap. Transitional bilingual programs commonly found in the United States are also subtractive in nature, since their goal is to replace native language with English (Prewitt-Díaz, 1988; Trueba, 1988; Trueba, 1989).

In a review of the evaluation research on bilingual education programs in the United States, Kenji Hakuta and Laurie Gould "found evidence that while children may pick up oral proficiency in as little as two years, it may take five to seven years to acquire the 'decontextualized' language skills necessary to function in an all-English classroom" (quoting Cummins, 1984b). Hakuta and Gould state that "programs with substantive native language components may be very effective" (1987:40). Thus, time spent in maintenance of native language supports learning a

second language. Skills learned in Spanish can be transferred to English. "Bilingualism is definitely not an intellectual handicap; quite possibly, it is a cognitive asset" (Hakuta & Gould, 1987:41).

Another explanation for low school achievement acknowledges the influence of home culture. Some researchers interpret low school achievement as a function of the vast differences between the student's home culture and school culture; it is the result of bringing incompatible cultural forces to bear on education (Gilmore & Glatthorn, 1982; Trueba, 1989; Au & Jordan, 1981). These theories seek explanations in individual student and teacher reactions to the conflicts between home and school culture, not in the existence of cultural differences. In particular, differences in verbal and nonverbal behavior are seen as resulting in miscommunication between teachers and students and misinterpretation by teachers of student behavior (Phillips, 1982; Delpit, 1990; Heath, 1983; Hidalgo, McDowell & Siddle, 1990).

Salgado (1985) presents an example of the misunderstanding of cultural differences between the school and the Puerto Rican home. Teachers may believe that the Puerto Rican child is too passive "because she does not talk too much, remains by herself during play period and when the teacher talks to her about the observed behavior, the child does not look at her or respond. While the teacher anticipates that the child's behavior is peculiar, the mother finds it very proper. The child is behaving in a manner that pleases the mother and fulfills the expectations of what 'a good child is'" (Salgado, 1985:47). When directed toward the teacher or school, passivity can be a sign of marginality or resistance (see explanation below); while passivity toward a parent is a sign of respect.[13] Thus, passivity can be interpreted from a Puerto Rican perspective "as a sign of respect and inner strength" (Nieto, 1987).

Lourdes Díaz-Soto (1988, 1989) interviewed the mothers of high and low achieving Puerto Rican fifth and sixth grade children. She inquired about parental aspirations, language use at home, parent involvement in school activities, knowledge about their child's academic achievement, feelings about independence, and value orientation of parents (1988:163).

As compared to the mothers of the low achieving group, the mothers of the high achieving children had higher expectations and aspirations for their children and

held higher employment aspirations for themselves. They read more with their children at home and offered more praise for good school work. They knew specific information about what their children were studying, and kept abreast of their children's educational progress. The mothers of the higher achieving children were more involved in educational activities with their children in the home.

Díaz-Soto concluded: 1) distinctions can be made between high and low achieving Puerto Rican children; not all Puerto Rican students are low achievers, 2) there were "statistical differences in the home environment between high achieving and lower achieving students," and 3) two variables (press for independence and value orientation) were not found to be significantly related to high achievement (1989:22). The Díaz-Soto studies are significant because they dispel the myth that all Puerto Rican children are low achievers, and because they find Puerto Rican parents do support their children's school achievement.

But the studies miss the more subtle cultural forms of Puerto Rican family support for education. In general the operational categories applied in these studies were derived from past studies on non-Puerto Rican families (Marjoribanks, 1974a, 1974b & 1974c). Díaz-Soto concluded that child rearing practices and values of Puerto Rican families may indeed have influence on the last two variables but problems arise when an instrument normed on Anglo populations is applied to people of color. For example, Puerto Rican parents deemphasize independence in child rearing, especially for female children. Questions that would be relevant to this population include: how Puerto Rican parents help children build positive self-identities, and how Spanish and English are used in the home.

Reinaldo Ortíz-Colón (1985), in a study of Head Start children that explores subtle cultural factors, found that the Anglo teachers and Puerto Rican mothers of Head Start children agreed on the behaviors and skills children should learn, but disagreed on the importance to be assigned to the behaviors and skills children should exhibit. Ortíz-Colón found differences in the importance teachers and mothers placed on particular behaviors. While teachers ranked behaviors based on independence and verbal assertiveness as more important, mothers placed more importance on obedience and mindfulness of rules. The ultimate goal for children desired by both mothers and teachers was that the children, regardless of their sex, learn effectively and be successful in school.

Results also showed differences among the Puerto Rican mothers themselves. The behavior and skill ranking of the more acculturated mothers were similar to the Anglo teachers' ranking. Ortíz-Colón concludes: "cultural and socio-economic differences in ideologies about how best to socialize the child, then, are factors that influence the discontinuities between mothers and teachers" (1985:111). The acculturated mothers were familiar with the behaviors necessary for success and were able to teach their children such behaviors within a Puerto Rican family orientation. The less acculturated mothers were also supporting their children's school achievement, but in uniquely Puerto Rican ways. (See Table 3, page 33, for examples.)

Differences between the home and the school also surface in explanations related to teacher expectations. While it may seem extreme to attribute variations in student achievement to teacher expectations without looking at the institutional constraints under which teachers and students operate, we know teacher behavior and expectations have a powerful influence on student achievement (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Rist, 1971). The following delineates the characteristic processes by which teacher expectations affect student achievement. The expectations may be based on social as well as academic information. Teacher beliefs are revealed through differentiated behavior towards particular students. Students can detect this divergent treatment, internalize the lowered expectations, and behave academically in ways that validate the lowered expectations (Hidalgo, 1991; Colón, Hidalgo, Navárez & García-Blanco, 1990).

This explanation has particular relevance for Latino student populations.[14] Rodríguez (1989) cites work by Thomas and Gordon who found high educational expectations were a significant variable in Latino school achievement. Other researchers also have found teacher expectations to be an important variable in Latino school achievement (Durán, 1983; National Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics, 1984; Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990). In the classroom, trusting relations between teachers and students allow students to experience learning in a psychologically safe environment, one that does not politicize cultural, racial, or language differences. Given the primacy of interpersonal relationships within Puerto Rican culture, the expectations of teachers, because they are seen as significant authority figures, would likely be important to students.

One cause of misinformed teacher expectations may be attributed to application of the cultural deficit model: teachers may hold an unconscious belief in the superiority of the Anglo, Western, middle-class culture (Grant, 1989), and so may require less of the students whom they perceive to have less potential for success. Teachers may use the problems that students are assumed to have at home as an excuse to require little work from students in school (Clark, 1990). Hidalgo (1991) found teachers used assumptions of students' family background and life experiences to justify minimal work requirements. The work requirements were couched in an environment of friendly social relations between teachers and Puerto Rican and African-American students, to keep students complacent and not challenged. Oversensitivity to the difficulties the child may have at home may result in lowered expectations.

Other theories look at within-school structural causes to explain low student achievement. Some researchers find that low student status and low family income levels correspond to a qualitatively different school experience for students who come from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, treatment encountered within the different school components (academic content, access to academic counseling, work experience of teachers, and quality of instruction) is determined by socioeconomic class and race (Cummins, 1989; Oakes, 1985; Kozol, 1992).

A commonplace practice that illustrates this phenomenon is the prevalence of homogeneous group tracking in school districts across the U.S. Tracking is the systematic sorting of children by ability (based on standardized test scores), by course of study (based on teacher and counselor decisions), and by in-class grouping (based on the assumption that teaching to similar ability children is more effective). Systemic tracking has had serious negative effects on Latino student achievement. For example, in 1983, 35% of all Latino students nationwide were in vocational education programs, 40% of all Latino students were in general education tracks and 25% of all Latino students were in academic tracks (National Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics, 1984). By their senior year in high school 75% of all Latinos are placed in curricular programs that make college education seem impossible (National Council of La Raza, 1990).

A recent report by the Massachusetts Advocacy Center (1990) on tracking within the Boston public school system found that formal systematic tracking of children begins in the second grade when all children are tested for the advanced

work classes. In an extreme example of the ramifications of tracking, it was found that only one Latino high school student of the 2,390 enrolled in Boston high schools during the 1988-89 school year was taking a calculus course (Massachusetts Advocacy Center, 1990). The report documents the effects of a rigid tracking structure on African-American and Latino students.

A final explanation, this one focusing on the concept of resistance, takes into account both factors within school and outside school to analyze student success and failure. Resistance theorists analyze the contradictory cultural forces operating in schools (Apple, 1982, 1988; Giroux, 1988; Weis, 1988; Apple & Weis, 1983; Beyer & Apple, 1988). They have looked into the complex cultures created in schools to analyze not only the existence of different cultures, but in how those differences are treated by educators.[15] Resistance theorists maintain that schools magnify the inequalities present in society, and further assert that schools maintain inequality by fashioning uncritical educators and students.

Resistance theorists attend to the "everyday resistances and accommodations" teachers and students undergo (Carlson, 1987:295). Dominant cultural values are not merely imposed upon students, determining student success or failure, but each culture and element within that culture interacts with and responds to the presence of other cultural elements (Giroux, 1983). Students then respond to and thus reinforce inequalities by adopting norms and values that are oppositional to the dominant norms and values of the school (Weis, 1988). When students display overt behavioral opposition to accepted norms, the process by which this occurs within the school setting may be paradoxical or "contradictory" to the purposes of the actors (McCarthy, 1988:21).

The resistance explanation finds school achievement blocked by the hegemonic practices existing in classrooms. Erickson's (1987) definition is helpful: "Hegemonic practices are routine actions and unexamined beliefs that are consonant with the cultural system of meaning and ontology within which it makes sense to take certain actions, entirely without malevolent intent, that nonetheless systematically limit the life chances of stigmatized groups" (1987:352). The hegemonic practices in schools engender resistance from students in the form of oppositional behavior, such as not learning or disrupting class. This resistance may, in turn, contribute to the structural pressures that oppress students. "Students are not merely passive victims. They actively contest the hegemony of the dominant culture

through resistance" (McLaren, 1989:214). The resistance from students is a symbolic means of asserting the integrity of cultural traits and values in the face of oppression (Erickson, 1987).

As Erickson explains, learning requires that a trusting relationship develop between teachers and students because students are asked to risk moving towards what they do not know and to trust that the teacher will assist in learning the unknown, that she has their best intentions in mind. Failure to learn what the teacher "deliberately" teaches is a form of resistance by students. This happens when "cultural boundaries," such as language or dialect, which are neutral in themselves, become politically charged when teachers negatively sanction these cultural boundaries (Erickson, 1987:345). Neutral cultural or ethnic boundaries become stigmatized by teachers' actions and lead to cultural differentiation between teachers and students.[16] Whereas, students may identify with the very cultural aspects being sanctioned.

Students resist through relationship or cultural battles, which become "entrenched" patterns of interaction in the classroom as students try to distance themselves from the teacher's negative sanctions (Erickson, 1987:348). After repeated negative learning (not learning what the teacher deliberately teaches), or repeated relational battles, oppositional patterns of behavior develop among students. These oppositional patterns of behavior may, in turn, contribute to students' failure.

Thus, hegemonic practices may take the form of racist teacher attitudes and beliefs about cultural differences, non-challenging school environments, and non-supportive teacher/student interactions. Colón-Tarrats (1988) found the above practices led to negative school experiences that contributed to Puerto Rican students' dropping out of school. Similarly, in studies of Puerto Rican female dropouts in the U.S., Santiago-Nazario (1981), and Gutíerrez and Montalvo (1982), found "the quality of the educational experience [was] a crucial factor affecting [students'] decisions to remain in school or to drop out" (as quoted in Vázquez-Nuttal, 1989:75). Puerto Rican female dropouts saw school as "hostile environments" (Vázquez-Nuttal, 1989:75). The resistance explanation provides a framework for examining the school treatment of Puerto Rican students.

Whereas the previous explanations only presented partial answers, this author subscribes to the complex dynamics accounted for in the resistance theory. The

resistance theory encompasses aspects of home/school differences, school environment, and teacher/student relationships to help identify the correlates of Puerto Rican school achievement.

As Erickson (1987) notes, differences between the home and school become obstacles when those difference are negatively sanctioned by school personnel. When a Puerto Rican child enters school, besides learning new academic skills, she has to acquire a number of other skills; the extent to which these other skills must be learned depends on language dominance and the level of acculturation of families. If Spanish dominant, the Puerto Rican child must learn a new language, English. When the Spanish language is imbued with political inferiority, rather than being treated as an asset to be nurtured, language instruction takes on oppressive dimensions that may affect the child's self-esteem and the ability of the family to communicate effectively.

The Puerto Rican child may have to learn new patterns of behavior related to adults in authority and must learn new cultural norms such as independence. The new learning has ramifications for the continued unity and strength of Puerto Rican families, because conflicts arise when the child is taught in school to disparage traditional beliefs.

The school environment may be non-challenging when schools neglect Puerto Rican student needs for skilled language practices, sound bilingual pedagogy, and bilingual staff support to help children achieve academically in school. The maintenance of Spanish language proficiency results in cognitive benefits and continued Puerto Rican identification. The "ideal bilingual education program would aim at fluency in both languages as an asset, rather than as a handicap" (Hakuta & Gould, 1987:43). Yet the retrenchment of the development of linguistically appropriate programs ignores the research findings which conclude that limited English proficient Latino students have higher school achievement when taught bilingually (Prewitt-Díaz, 1988; Trueba, 1989).

One begins to understand the full complexity of hegemonic practices as they appear within the various dimensions of Puerto Rican students' school experiences. For example, Cordasco and Bucchioni (1972) document the daily experience of Puerto Rican migrant students in New York public schools. Teachers actively taught, in English, middle-class aspirations to students without teaching the requisite skills

that may facilitate entry to the middle class, while holding prejudicial views of Puerto Rican families and children. This study illustrates how the assimilationist practices of the school function to further disadvantage children and maintain inequality. Within schools, unexamined teacher insistence that Puerto Rican students assimilate and accept the dominant culture neglects and demeans their Puerto Rican heritage.

Turning to the area of children's literature, Sonia Nieto (1981) found that the number of children's books being published about Puerto Ricans has decreased even as the Puerto Rican school population has increased. The omission, or lack of knowledge about Puerto Rican contributions pushes Puerto Rican students to "be White" and to ignore their cultural identity. But transformative multicultural education not only acknowledges the contributions of Puerto Ricans to U.S. society, it also changes existing structures that reinforce inequality.

Puerto Rican socialization patterns may be interpreted as inferior to the behavior expected in school. (See Salgado, 1985.) Lack of information about the high value Puerto Ricans place on respect and obedience within the family unit obscures insight into culturally-based child behavior in the classroom.

The problem of low Puerto Rican school achievement has been framed without including Puerto Rican families as part of the solution. What happens when one approaches school achievement as part of a multidimensional support system (within the home, within the school, and between the home and school) where families are necessarily part of the solution (Delgado-Gaitán, 1988)? What happens when the solution builds upon and enhances the strong support system found in Puerto Rican families, which supports Puerto Rican families in culturally sensitive ways, which promotes parent learning about the requirements of school, and promotes the training of teachers on the socialization and strengths of Puerto Rican families? Such an approach may allow families and communities to create strategies they find essential to childrens' advancement within a situation of economic disadvantage.

Two studies, in addition to Díaz-Soto (1988), explore the importance of family influence on Puerto Rican and Latino school achievement. Durán summarizes a study by Alicea and Mathis (1975) of factors influencing Puerto Rican students to remain in high school. The study found that, besides language proficiency, the other background factors affecting school achievement were: "[students'] communication with parents, parental guidance and support in education, presence of significant

adults at school providing help and encouragement, knowledge of and pride in Puerto Rican cultural heritage, students' perceptions of broader societal opportunities, and students' professional and higher education goals" (as quoted in Durán, 1983:29). This study illustrates the importance of Puerto Rican family involvement in the education of their children.

Concha Delgado-Gaitán in a study of twelve Chicano high school students found a high reliance on familial support systems. "Their home support systems instilled in [children] a strong value of the self above all and provided in the family a safe place for the students to retreat in the face of conflict" (1988:376). Conversely, when Puerto Rican high school students do not perceive family support, they are more likely to drop out of school (Colón-Tarrats, 1988).

The resistance explanation helps us examine the low school achievement of Puerto Ricans as a historically complex phenomenon. It looks outside the school -- into the local community, and the broader social order -- as well as within school practices to identify the roots of failure and success. It embraces a multicultural approach towards school improvement and social change. It redefines the problem to look at the structural conditions which allow Puerto Rican inequality to be continually reproduced in society.

The low school achievement of Puerto Ricans is related to differences between the dominant culture and Puerto Rican culture and family values, and the historical status of that culture and the Spanish language. The subtle ways in which Puerto Rican culture has been suppressed, both here and in Puerto Rico, has relevance to student achievement, family cohesiveness, and economic conditions of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

A past superintendent of New York public schools stated the problem succinctly: "The improvement in Puerto Rican children's achievement will not occur until society commits itself to dealing with discrimination, poverty, unemployment, housing and health" (Alvarado, 1972).

Puerto Rican Cultural Values

The influence of Puerto Rican families on school achievement requires understanding of the particular mechanisms of socialization that exist within that culture. The statistical profile of Puerto Ricans in the United States (Table 2) does not reveal the rich Puerto Rican cultural traditions, nor how those values undergo modification in the U.S.

When describing the values and behaviors of particular ethnic groups, one risks making generalizations that some may identify as stereotypes. What must be remembered is that there are as many variations and differences existing within a group as there are similarities. Intragroup differences result from various factors: the amount of education received, socioeconomic status, length of time living in the country, area of residence, whether one lives in an ethnic enclave, the generational position of individuals (age), and the amount of intermarriage with other ethnic groups. For Puerto Ricans in the United States the additional factors that influence intragroup differences are Spanish or English dominance, where their education was received (Puerto Rico or United States), where the formative years were spent, migration patterns, and intensity of their connection to the Island.

The literature on Puerto Rican culture reveals a number of values that are practiced in a variety of forms. These core values have been preserved and maintained in some form despite the transition to the U.S. The close communication, the connections to the Island, the existence of the extended family, and the back and forth movement of people are the mechanisms facilitating the maintenance of cultural values. These mechanisms interact with educational levels, language dominance, and time spent in the U.S. to produce significant intragroup diversity in the extent to which the values are adhered to in their pure forms.

The values of a cultural group are a means of establishing ethnicity and identity. They stem from common history, language, rituals, beliefs, and experiences. Cultural values provide a safety net against conflicting values of the dominant society and a framework in which shared meanings are tacitly understood (McGoldrick, 1982). When world views are similar, value frameworks need not be explained.

One of the clearest values among Puerto Ricans is *respeto*, (respect). Lauria (1972) differentiates between the two forms *respeto* takes in Puerto Rican culture. The first definition refers to respect for one another's human dignity in a general sense, "generalized deference" (1972:38). Respect of this kind is a precondition for all social relations. Respect for self and others is a value which all appropriately socialized Puerto Ricans have acquired. It is something the individual must present, and is expected in all interactions with others (Lauria, 1972).

The second form of respect, according to Lauria, is respect for another's authority and stature; "particularized forms of *respeto*," which stem from certain types of social relations (1972:38). Respect of the second kind encompasses particular kinds of regard for others according to status. For example, an employee speaking to an employer must show the second kind of respect. But even in this situation, the employee expects basic human respect of the first kind will be reciprocated (Lauria, 1972).

Personalism is the valuing of the inner qualities that make one a good person, a sense of personal integrity. Personalism "is a form of individualism that focuses on the inner importance of the person" (Fitzpatrick, 1971:76). Inner worth comes from doing what is expected, especially with regard to family obligations. Personal dignity (*dignidad*) stems from fulfilling your role in life, not from material status. For example, a man who takes care of his elderly parents will be respected. Being poor does not diminish one's *dignidad*. "In Puerto Rican society, poverty is imbued with the cultural values of 'dignidad'" (Torruellas, Benmayor, Goris & Juarbe, 1991:60).

Personalism is grounded in the individual and in the family. One researcher noted that personalism may take the form of principled interpersonal relations, but with much less regard for institutional norms (Brameld, 1972). As such Puerto Ricans tend to exhibit more trust in personal relations than in institutions.

A value closely related to personalism is that of reciprocity, which refers to the genuine expression of generosity towards others, a concern about closeness and caring for others. The highly valued norms of reciprocity are part of interpersonal relationships in which one is expected to reciprocate kindness. This value may be expressed by reaching out to others and opening the doors of one's home. Reciprocity is taught by the example of parents and by oral expressions and sayings

that are repeated during the childhood years. Giving back need not be in material form, nor directly to the same person who was kind to you. A good deed towards another, whatever form it takes, satisfies the norm of reciprocity. Nevertheless, reciprocity is most significant and expected among family members and neighbors.

Puerto Rican Family Patterns and Role Socialization

Family obligation is deeply ingrained in Puerto Rican culture. The fundamental obligations are to family and friends. The Puerto Rican individual presents herself within the framework of the family to which she belongs. "Individual confidence, sense of security and identity are perceived in the relationship to others who constitute the family" (Fitzpatrick, 1971:70).

Family unity and interdependency are highly valued; close and frequent contact between family members is expected. "Family unity refers to the desirability of close and intimate kin ties" (Mizio, 1974:187). Puerto Rican families perceive direct communication (phone calls) and visitation as a display of caring for each other that holds and binds the family together. The initiators of these contacts are most often women (Mizio, 1974).

Interdependence among family members is expected and viewed positively. No one is expected to do everything by oneself (Mizio, 1974). "The interdependency framework conceptualizes the individual as unable to do everything or to do everything well and therefore, in need of others for assistance" (Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988:177). It provides a support system for individuals. The tradition of depending on the family for help in time of need may stem from the time when Puerto Rico was an agrarian society and individuals had to work together to survive (Hoffman, no date). The individual's framework "consists of a pattern of intimate personal relationships, and the basic relationships are those of the family" (Fitzpatrick, 1987:70).

In the U.S., one finds variations of Puerto Rican family compositions. "The Puerto Rican family system must be viewed on a continuum. At one end is an

extended family system with traditional Puerto Rican values, and at the other end the nuclear family system with an American value system" (Mizio, 1974:78). Salgado (1985) presents five family types that exemplify Puerto Rican families.

> 1) The nuclear family similar to the U.S. model,
>
> 2) the traditional extended family with its network of kin and kin-like relations,
>
> 3) the modified extended family in which the nuclear family has close relationships and extended family support,
>
> 4) the female-dominant family in which the maternal relatives have an important role in the socialization of children and in which the father's role is reduced [the single parent family is subsumed under this category],
>
> 5) the sub-extended family in which the family unit has a nuclear composition, but in which the extended family has a major psychological and social role (1985:40).

The nuclear family may include the mother, father, their children, the children of other unions, and the children of friends. Extended families might include grandparents, parents, and children, with frequent visitations from aunts and uncles. Puerto Rican family systems include the concepts of *compadrazgo* (co-parenthood), and *hijos de crianza* (the informal adoption of children), where friends and their children are brought into close familial relations. For example, the role of co-parent requires one to take part in the duties of the extended family network.

Childrearing behavior reflects the value of respect, in that children are expected to be obedient and dedicated to the family. Parents are the authorities who require respect and their decisions should not be questioned. The Puerto Rican family is "one with close emotional and psychological ties in which the child becomes well-acquainted with the hierarchy of power and the role expectations of each family member" (Salgado, quoting Nieves-Falcón, 1985:40). Although mothers control decisions on childrearing, children are taught to have unquestioned respect for parents, especially for the father's authority. A respectful child will not be *malcriado* (ill-bred).

Social roles in Puerto Rican families are delineated along gender lines. Machismo is part of the double standard for males and females in the Puerto Rican culture. Machismo is male dominance and sexual aggressiveness toward women. Since the cultural norms tacitly condone sexual aggressiveness for males, rites of passage for them include early sexual activity and boasting (Bucchioni, 1965).

Mizio (1974) places machismo within the context of a dominant U.S. society that denigrates the individual Puerto Rican male and denies him self-respect. Often, elements of culture like machismo are blamed as the source of female/male problems, when in fact the influence of the "educational, racial, and economic dynamics which generate male unemployment" may be the cause of problems (Andrade, 1982:101).

Given the importance of personal dignity in the culture, one can understand, if not accept the practice of machismo. Nevertheless, as Lillian Rosario notes, for the more acculturated Puerto Ricans in the U.S., "the traditional concepts of Puerto Rican womanhood and manhood appear to be changing toward a more egalitarian model because of increased education and exposure to dominant culture society" (1982:13).

Another dimension of machismo is the responsibility to provide for one's family. Males have the responsibility of "being the primary provider and protector of the family" (Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988:178). This sense of protection of the family can be comforting; it provides a feeling of being cared for, and of safety to family members.

While "aggression is severely punished and attachment is nurtured" for both sexes, family childrearing practices encourage dependency and the protection of females (Vázquez-Nutall & Romero-García, 1989:66). The role of females in traditional Puerto Rican culture has been rigidly constricted as compared to the male's role. Marianismo refers to the belief that girls should be taught to be "submissive, chaste and loyal" (Vázquez-Nutall & Romero-García, 1989:63).

Although there is much variation in more acculturated families, Table 3 illustrates the differences between Puerto Rican socialization patterns and U.S. school expectations. (See section on school achievement, above, for an explanation of how these differences have been interpreted.)

Table 3
Puerto Rican Socialization and U.S. School Differences

Puerto Rican	U.S. School
Nurtures interdependency	Values independence
Nurtures cooperation	Values competition
Authoritarian style	Democratic style
Achievement is for family satisfaction	Achievement is for self-satisfaction
Admonishes immodesty in girls	Physical education requires changing in front of others
Machismo for boys	Less sexually-typed male ideal
Marianismo for girls	Less sexually-typed female ideal

Adapted from Vázquez-Nutall & Romero-García, (1989), "From Home to School: Puerto Rican Girls Learn to Be Students in the United States," in García Coll & de Lourdes Mattei, *The Psychosocial Development of Puerto Rican Women*, page 67.

Acculturation

Acculturation is the process by which an immigrant ethnic group adapts to a foreign culture. It entails a compromise of some distinct values and behaviors in return for acceptance into the larger society. Acculturation is a two-way process, one which for many Puerto Rican families has not occurred. "The price [for acceptance the Puerto Rican] must pay is denial of self and heritage and a sacrifice of personal integrity" (Mizio, 1974:79). One must balance the benefits or difficulties of maintaining traditional beliefs and behaviors against the environmental stresses placed on the family by the host society (Mizio, 1974).

Examination of Puerto Rican families' acculturation process must be placed within the context of the environment in which the family lives, which means more than community. The context expands to include the pressure of societal values upon the family. In order to survive, the Puerto Rican family has to develop strategies that allow it to live in two contrasting and conflicting worlds: U.S. culture and the traditional Puerto Rican culture.

The main instrument of socialization and support for Puerto Ricans is the family. In inner-city neighborhoods, Puerto Rican families rely on informal support networks when faced with economic, social, health, or emotional problems (Sánchez-Ayéndez, 1988). But a significant change has occurred in the U.S. context: the traditional extended family structure is being weakened by the stresses placed upon it by external systems, such as poverty, which cause the extended family to disappear (Salgado, 1985). Andrade states that the "subordinate socioeconomic position, the migration experience, pervasive racism, adjustments to a highly industrialized and urban milieu," all impact heavily upon the structure of the Puerto Rican family, endangering its function as a social support network (1982:102).

The weakening of the extended family tends to "leave Puerto Ricans without the social bonds that constitute their strongest support network" (Fitzpatrick, 1987:86). "Alcoholism, drug abuse, child abuse, and school dropouts are warning signs of a deterioration process and a breakdown of coping mechanisms" (Salgado, 1985:48).

A study conducted in 1978 comparing Puerto Rican drug addicts to non-addicts found the most significant variable was the existence of the extended family. In families with extended family members present, the occurrence of drug addiction among the younger generation decreased significantly (as quoted in Fitzpatrick, 1987).

Emelicia Mizio (1974) explains that Puerto Rican children see the struggles the family experiences and, given the value of family interdependency, feel they have to take responsibility for the family survival. Children often take responsibility for the negotiation of external systems for the family, by serving as interpreter for parents during hospital visits, for example. These types of responsibilities give children access to knowledge and decisions they would not ordinarily have, placing great pressures on them. In response, they may rebel against the family in

disrespectful ways because children taking more important roles in the family disrupts the entrenched system of respect and obedience. The family hierarchy, and thus parental authority, is undermined.

The impact of American values on the functioning of the family has led to contradictions and weakening of traditions in other ways. Colleran (1984), in a study of one hundred Island born Puerto Rican parents and their adult (second generation) children in the United States, found that living in the United States caused Puerto Ricans to become less respectful of the family and to display less generosity towards others. These changes were not viewed positively by parents or adult children: the loss of respect and the lessening of family unity were seen as the loss of a valuable part of the Puerto Rican culture. This study also found the adult (second generation) children were aware of the value of retaining the Spanish language, but were nevertheless losing it. The second generation spoke more English, even in intimate contacts, and had less capacity in Spanish than in English.

Thus, when acculturation of a group is not accompanied by significant integration of societal institutions -- political power -- the group remains marginalized. The struggles and contributions of Puerto Ricans in the United States are denied by the lack of recognition of the colonial relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico, of the causes of the mass migration to the United States, and of the benefits this society has garnered from Puerto Rican labor.

Some critics state that the prevalence of obedience, respect, and conformity within Puerto Rican families is a result of the colonial status of Puerto Ricans; they argue these values are a group response to oppression (Rodríguez, Sánchez-Korrol & Oscar-Alers, 1984). Values brought from Puerto Rico often find little expression here. Personal dignity (*dignidad*) and pride, in the Puerto Rican interpretation, are at conflict with U.S. norms. This is another effect of the Puerto Rican diaspora.

Although at times these values clash in U.S. society, they may also be interpreted as a useful vehicle to aid student achievement. Children are taught to respect authority; they are taught to listen to teachers and to act in ways that ingratiate them with teachers. Puerto Rican families support their children to achieve by training them to be respectful of others, not to be *malcriado*.

Puerto Rican traditional values promote school achievement. The Puerto Rican community views education as essential for its advancement in this society. Individual families also support their children's achievement in school because it fulfills their responsibility as a family member. Since one perceives one's identity from within a system of family relationships, and family obligations promote inner self-worth, then fulfilling one's responsibilities in school means fulfilling one's role in the family, doing what is expected.

Because of the propensity to place value on interpersonal relationships within the culture, the relationship between the teacher and Puerto Rican student becomes vital to the educational achievement of the student. Students have to feel liked by the teacher; they gain strength from their relationships to their teacher. Moreover, each child is not merely Amparo or Pepe, but more importantly, the child is Amparo the daughter of Alicia Romero and José Marcano. The child's connection to the family has to be acknowledged by the teacher who will build a personal relationship with the child.

Puerto Ricans need to establish themselves in the new society without disconnecting from their roots and identity. Puerto Ricans have often struggled to retain their deep sense of identity. Fitzpatrick concurs, as "political strength [continues to] develop among Puerto Ricans it must be related to the maintenance of the family and [to] community solidarity. Organizational strength cannot replace the stability of the family as the elemental source of strength. It is this elemental strength that will eventually prevail to protect Puerto Ricans" against the effects of the Puerto Rican diaspora (1987:90). The continuation of Puerto Rican identification with the values, heritage, and language of Puerto Rico is the key to collective achievement.

Puerto Ricanness

Many authors agree that the American presence on the Island has led to a deterioration of the culture and a diffusion of a sense of peoplehood (Maldonado-Denis, 1973; Nieves-Falcón, 1975; Bonilla, 1990). Yet the Puerto Ricans here and on the Island have resisted cultural assimilation by the United States.

The "continued affirmation of a Puerto Rican identity and a desire to preserve a lifestyle really different from the average" U.S. citizen's is a continuing theme

within the Puerto Rican community in the United States (Rodríguez, Sánchez-Korrol & Alers, 1984:13). In part, the explanation stems from the timing of the mass migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. during the Civil Rights movement, which occurred when many mainstream Whites were questioning the validity of existing structures (Rodríguez, Sánchez-Korrol & Alers, 1984).

The explanation is also based on the historic colonial relationship of Puerto Rico to the United States. Hidalgo (1975) posits the belief that the resistance to taking on an American identity is linked to the perspective that Americans are exploiters of poor and non-White people. Becoming "American" is not perceived as an accomplishment, as in the case of the European immigrant; rather "their adherence to Puerto Ricanness serves as a defense" (Hidalgo, 1975:40). Resistance to the melting pot ideology separates Puerto Ricans from those who have historically controlled their future. Thus, Puerto Ricans "have demonstrated that they are not interested in following the path of assimilated ethnic groups who, in their struggle to acquire power and wealth, become part of the oppressive majority" (Rivera, 1974:88-89).

While Puerto Ricans in the United States have been identified and marginalized as a non-White racial group, this separation may be a rallying point that gives Puerto Ricans cohesiveness as a distinct ethnic group. Rodríguez, Sánchez-Korrol & Alers (1984) believe the binding element for Puerto Ricans in the United States is color, which allows an identifiable community to exist. This author would add the maintenance of the Spanish language which can be another binding and rallying point. Puerto Ricans in the United States have struggled to maintain their group identity and orientation while working to change oppressive structures, as proven by the work of community development and training organizations.

The term "Puerto Ricanness" is used to denote a fundamental tie to a Puerto Rican cultural heritage (López, 1980). Puerto Ricanness is a national, not a racial, identity relating to the historical experiences of a people. Puerto Ricanness functions to affirm Puerto Rican cultural identity and heritage. The maintenance of a Puerto Rican identity that is different from an American identity is sustained by the reinforcement of the Spanish language and a recognition of linguistic and cultural distinctiveness as a group (Flores, 1985).

In Colleran's study (1984), the adult (second generation) children continued to identify themselves either as Puerto Rican or Puerto Rican Americans. Not one individual in the one hundred families studied identified her/himself as exclusively American. Colleran believes this signifies that second generation Puerto Ricans are "maintaining their Puerto Rican heritage as a symbol of their identification" (1984:4).

Colleran's finding is augmented by Walsh's work with second generation Puerto Rican high school students. Walsh (1987) conducted a study of Puerto Rican and Anglo students, who were Spanish and English dominant, to understand the meaning they assigned to particular words. The Puerto Rican children, even the English dominant ones, were assigning Puerto Rican meaning and defining words like "family," "neighborhood," and "respect," from within a distinctly Puerto Rican framework. For example, "neighborhood" was always associated with the interrelationships between people, not solely with concrete buildings or geographic area, as in the Anglo children's definitions. "Respect" was defined as showing particular reverence towards certain people like parents and teachers, not as an abstract respect for all people, which was the Anglo children's definition. Walsh concludes that even third generation Puerto Rican children maintain unique Puerto Rican values that shape their frame of reference.

The active movement towards cultural affirmation and resistance to assimilation, according to Flores (1985), stems from the awareness that one's culture is being threatened by economic and political forces. The resistance takes the form of self-affirmation and cultural maintenance. Its demonstration is seen in family strengths and values, Spanish language maintenance, and musical and artistic expression. At the heart of the identification is the experience of inclusion and participation in the culture. Although Spanish language capacity enhances the feeling of inclusion, the transmission of traditional Puerto Rican values from one generation to the next, a keen awareness of distinctiveness, and their continued affirmation and reinforcement of those values in the face of adversity, allow Puerto Ricans in the United States to maintain their identity.

Conclusions

> Children without skills are unskilled, but children without understanding, respect, integrity and humanity are truly uneducated (Alvarado, 1972).

This quote incorporates many of the Puerto Rican values described in this paper. It is a Puerto Rican educator's cry for schooling that grounds Puerto Rican students in the rich traditions of their culture. It is a call for sound multicultural pedagogy and quality bilingual education. It is an imperative for the elimination of hegemonic practices and the dismantling of school policies that further disadvantage Puerto Rican children.

If the aim of schooling is to educate an informed citizenry, then all children need knowledge of Puerto Rican history, language, culture, contributions, and lifestyles in order to partake of their rights as citizens. This author embraces a multicultural perspective that values cultural differences and analyzes how differences have been used to justify inequality. Multicultural education encompasses a multidimensional approach to schooling: for example, it affects interactions, curricula, classroom instruction, and school policies.

The goals of multiculturalism extend beyond the acknowledgement and respect for the diversity students bring to school. A multicultural approach prompts a critical awareness of the oppressive nature of some social institutions. Such knowledge leads to the development of skills and strategies needed to transform how power is used in schools, which in turn reflects societal conditions.

Puerto Rican families need support in their efforts to live within conflicting cultural norms. Cultural sensitivity is only the beginning; it is essential that teachers become introspective about the assumptions and values they hold. Teachers need to learn about the historical experiences and contributions of Puerto Ricans in the United States, and must work to eliminate racist practices and policies, such as tracking.

The growth of school-based management policies provides opportunities for Puerto Rican parents to contribute to improving schools. But if Puerto Rican parents

are to feel welcomed in schools, then the cultural frameworks operating in schools need to be examined and redefined to be inclusive of the differences in values and perspectives. Real decision making power, rather than advisory positions, would help Puerto Rican parents identify and change school practices that hurt their children.

The Puerto Rican sense of identity must be maintained by parents and educators. It is up to parents and teachers to bridge the cultural distance between traditional values and behaviors, and school expectations. It is time educators join with parents to challenge school systems to recognize and eliminate hegemonic practices in schools, and to begin to address the needs of Puerto Rican children.

In this paper, Puerto Rican children's school achievement has been viewed through a socio-historical lens, taking into account the historical relationship of Puerto Rico with the United States, the migration experience, family roles and values, acculturation processes, and pressures on the family structure in the United States. True understanding entails an intense and comprehensive investigation of the operating familial and dominant cultural norms, within a socio-historical context. This review of the literature on the Puerto Rican experience is intended to contribute to that understanding.

Notes

1. The title is the name of a poem by José-Angel Figueroa, published in The Rican, Winter, 1972, page 39.

i saw puerto rico once

i came
from the nest
all birds
thought they could find
where the grass
walks across the common
and the roots of trees
the earth of roads
and the water of rivers
longed my thoughts
to come home again

i came
but the wind chiseled
pointed sounds down my spine
and the sun
blinded my senses
to see but few or no more
who recognized
mine was not a visit

i came
from those hills/mountain forests
and streams of side-grass to every mind
but now i fear
the nest may lose its tree
cause the roots below the grass
and the earth above the soil
may dry and wither and break the seal
which formed this dream

and today i wonder
if i will be able to tell all
and find that path again
where the grass
walks across the common
to the front-steps
of
my
native stream

2. Puertorriqueños is the Spanish word used to identify and label people of Puerto Rican descent.

3. What the Spaniards called the native people that lived on the island.

4. Spaniards encouraged soldiers to intermarry with indigenous people to keep the soldiers stable, in order to ensure the continued population of the colonies.

5. The Lares Outburst.

6. This is the title of a book by Puerto Rican author Nicholasa Mohr, published in 1988, by Arte Publico Press, Houston.

7. Refers to a back and forth, coming and going pattern.

8. Center for Puerto Rican Studies.

9. My thanks to Erick Perez and Iliana Quintero for clarifying this point for me.

10. A recent report based on the 1990 U.S. Census found that the most growth of the Puerto Rican population in the continental U. S. occurred in medium-sized cities (see National Puerto Rican Coalition, 1991).

11. This section covers the development of organizations in New York City, where the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans migrated. Many of the organizations described have since expanded into cities with large Puerto Rican populations, such as Philadelphia, Chicago, Newark, Boston, Miami, and Lorin (Ohio).

12. For examples, please see: Cohen, 1966; Dissinger-Mingioni, 1968; Elam, 1960; Fennessey, 1967; Geismar & Gerhart, 1968; Hertzig, Birch, Thomas & Méndez, 1968; Inclán, 1990; Mangano & Towne, 1970; Miller, 1967; Powers, 1985; Rosado, 1991; and Zirkel, 1971.

13. My thanks to Erick Perez for his convincing argument.

14. The word Latino will be used to describe the Spanish speaking populations in studies that do not differentiate between specific groups. The specific groups subsumed under the Latino category may include Central American, Dominican, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and South American people.

15. The term "culture" is used by some resistance theorists in its broader sense, not specific ethnic culture. Their use relates to all information and knowledge that people utilize to interpret their experiences and generate social behavior. For example, the culture that develops in particular classrooms, with its rules and repeating patterns.

16. For a classroom example of a teacher's negative sanctioning of students' ethnic boundaries, see Erickson, 1987.

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